

THE HUNTER'S CODE

In the last place, however, to waste of time, it never comes to mind again to mention a new body.* Consequently, the success of a hunter does not depend on his success over an animal as much as the hunter's goal will in showing itself to be able to use who has placed him by conventional strategy (U. p. 112), or by one who has been ordered with skill by some other experienced being. This one accordingly would be able to show the value of their game. Long ago, a mountain goat told a hunter that he and his friends liked one, as a hunter who has killed one always knows one kind of other animal to have from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another animal was told by a hunter never to use one kind of animal over one of his fellows killed with such small success. Phases of other birds have since been used, probably those of wild birds. Sometimes the value of an animal requires considerable study. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is searched upon nearly every possible organ and divided. The hunter knows the path so that the tail has near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He puts it back then, as if passing the skin back into place, and says:

"Please don't forget. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to my house. Tell your brother, your sister, your uncle, your aunt and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, stretch, shake itself, causing the path to return to its place, and run away. Young mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

*There are divisions in this Code as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

200

CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION

721 difficult to estimate the human influence of such warriors. The belief of all is that ability must transcend these mere presents, although the requirements of physical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented themselves functioning as military leaders. In other words, a warrior is, initially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

722 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must exercise it when required. If a warrior is made in a ceremonial fashion, the offender must be killed, and one way in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the nation requesting a professional warrior as if an executioner. One of these men, who lived on *Aishan* as always, used a stone club which had been bequeathed down from generation to generation, becoming the property of each one incumbent of the name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the *Aishan* warrior had been confirmed with so much goods that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the *Bella Coola*. He acted on instructions from the senior members of the warrior society or when called upon by anyone. If, for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the professional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was powerless in the matter, though they frequently requested him to slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim. He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guiltless. The underlying principle was that this man's power had been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon himself and cause his own death. This *Aishan* warrior began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

761

men, of whom the others were almost women, though old enough to appreciate the slight put upon their father, could do nothing to defend him.

On a winter day one of these little boys impelled to follow a seal down the north side of the Bella Coola valley along the edge of salt water. The weather had been cold for some time, but on this day it was so warm that he lay down to sleep on the warm rocks. Near his head was a small opening which connected with a long passage to the ocean, and through this he promptly heard the hoarse breathing of sleeping seals. The hunting season around, he went to the edge of the camp and crawling the seal and dried it. He bravely penetrated into a narrow passage which led him under the rocks, until with his last grasp he emerged into a cave where there were countless seals. Wearing only a moccasim, and without disturbing the animals, he dried back through the passage safely.

When he reached home the lad said nothing about what he had seen, but that evening he began to make a seal-spear of the usual type with a wooden handle and a bone point. He asked his father to help him with this carpentry task, and his mother to make a rope for the harpoon-head. Though surprised at their son's energy, the parents did as he requested, but the fellow-villagers mocked at his efforts, for the lad was no hunter.

Next morning he asked his father to accompany him, and the two set off in a canoe, carrying the spear which had been made the previous evening. Before starting, the lad requested one of his brothers to have a fire ready for cooking the spoil that night. Father and son paddled to the entrance of the subterranean passage, though the old man was, of course, ignorant of its existence. The son told him to wait, and dived overboard, armed only with a club, for the seal-spear had really been unnecessary. He penetrated through the passage and at once killed a seal pup, born that year, with which he returned to the canon. The lad explained nothing to his father, so that it seemed to the latter as if his son had dived down into the depths and there slain a seal, after remaining below for an amazingly long time.

When the two returned to the village they were greeted with a shriek of laughter at the small size of their quarry. In derision, the villagers took the pup from them and threw it from hand to hand, as if it had been a ball.

As already described, it is customary whenever a man kills a deer, a mountain goat, several seals, or any other large game, for him to invite his fellows to a feast. The number of guests depends on the size of the quarry, but in all cases the chiefs are the first to be invited and anyone who fails to do so is laughed at for his stinginess. On this occasion the seal-pup was obviously so small that any general invitation to partake of it was ludicrous. Nevertheless, the lad sent a herald to invite not only

CHAPTER II. THE BUREAU OF BUREAU. 187

morning of *Stigmatis* a, and passed with a group of people in the same path. When he returned home he with him. The following was a group that the last group that in the last of the experiment.

539*
786*
787*

THE BUREAU OF BUREAU

One day, sometime about 1875, a certain *Nawacumuk* was hunting in *Stigmatis*, below *Kimayut*. He had climbed for up a mountain where he saw a black bear in an open space. Crouching within range, the man fired at the animal with his *Stigmatis* gun, and apparently struck it, for it rolled around wildly before slowly moving away. The hunter followed, trying for a second shot. When the bear had almost reached the further end of a log which spanned a stream it turned round, and *Nawacumuk* saw, to his great amazement, that its face was identical with his own. Frightening to him, the hunter stood, motionless with wonder, his hands in his head. The quarry moved slowly off, then ground to a halt, and again *Nawacumuk* saw that its face was the image of his own. He stood not far, nor did he dare follow the animal. One of his enemies had received power from a bear, as he should not have been surprised at this vision, and, if he had been here, he would have followed the animal to its home where he would have been made a demon. In any appearance of the supernatural, whether or not the beholder takes advantage of it, he should not mention what he has seen, and for one year should remain close to his house. *Nawacumuk* obeyed only the first of these requirements.

Next month *Nawacumuk*, with a companion whose name was *Stigmatis*, set out for the same hunting-ground. As they reached their destination *Nawacumuk*, who was watching for game while his friend paddled, saw a goat for up the slope of a mountain. It had long for hanging from its throat, such a goat as the people of old said had the power to kill men. He suggested that they land and hunt the animal the following day. The two camped on the very spot used by *Nawacumuk* the previous year, and that night he told his friend about his earlier experience, saying that he had just remembered it. *Stigmatis*, foolishly, did not dissuade him from his hunting venture.

Next morning *Nawacumuk* set off with his dog and his stick, leaving *Stigmatis* in camp. After some time the latter heard a shot, and idly wondered how his companion was faring. Towards dusk the dog returned alone, and *Stigmatis* at once feared that his friend had met with misfor-

*Although this story does not describe the obtaining of supernatural power, nor the exploits of a person so endowed, it is inserted in this section to show a recent belief in the presence of the supernatural, from which ability might have been gained.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

100

as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to follow under him, but he could not compel the action of any one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion usually procured a unanimous course. Individuals of other towns and their own divisions whether or not to join the party. If some of their relations had been slain in the previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retaliation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could attract them. No case is known in which all the Belle Creole villages joined in a single expedition; there were often temporary alliances between neighbouring communities, but complete lack of central organization. The course of events was similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of avenging an attack. For example, if a Belle Creole had been captured by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was to kill a slave belonging to the murderer, though sometimes he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers succeeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were introduced many years ago and armour consequently became useless. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

721
721
622
626
628

642
628

410

726
411

714
726
411
677

104

THE BULL DOG'S DOG

* 531
[231]

As soon as the weather moderated, the rest of the party returned, and having enough to eat, they went to bed. Some had no more than three or four shells could be made, in addition to the large supplies of dried grass, meat and grain.

THE DOG DOG OF A LATE DOG

* 531
[231]
[411]
[421]

In the early days, when the rest of a trading vessel in Bull's Creek was a very small, it is remembered that an Indian chief brought a monster from the region of the South. He said he is a gift of his own people, which, when stretched up, was equal in height to the height of the monster. This was one of the first monsters caught by a Bull's Creek and the chief took great care of it, even making it a gift, and bringing it with him from the rest of his house whenever he was not actually using it. One day a certain Indian called the owner to look at the monster to see how it was. This was an slight request, and it was surprising, when Indian was not a hunter, but merely packed in meat killed by others. As soon the chief was unwilling to allow his prized weapon out of his sight, but at last consented when Indian promised to give him half the game that he might kill.

Indian probably thought that even temporary possession of the monstrous monster would make it possible for him to kill game, but when he had climbed up into the mountain, and walked for hours, he had not succeeded even in approaching one. He knew that if he returned home, unsuccessful and without some plausible excuse, he would be laughed to scorn, so he determined to cover his failure. First he bent the monster on a boulder until it was bent and battered, then he took a sharp rock and pounded himself until he was covered with blood from head to foot, so if he had been caught in a lead slide. When near the village, he lay down on the ground and called faintly for help; at first the people could not hear the sound, but after a short search someone found the would-be hunter, apparently in the last stages of exhaustion. Help was called, and Indian carried home, moaning feebly and saying that he would die. He could just whisper that he had been caught in a slide on the other side of the mountain, this explanation being necessary since no one had heard one in the near vicinity. As the apparent sufferer was lying in his house, one man noticed that the patient's wounds were from gashes, not from bruises, and loudly protested that Indian must have mutilated himself to conceal his lack of success. Everyone came crowding around and agreed that this must be the case; Indian finally admitted the deception and congratulated his discoverer on his powers of observation. After a few days, he was as well as ever, but the chief had lost his precious monster.

672
192

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

- [825] *Pagwilede*: Bella Bella chief mentioned in a semi-historical account.
Towast: Northern tribe, possibly Haida.
Tet: Dog salmon.
Tetleng: "Where Feet Are Shortened": Village on shore of North Bentinck Arm west end north of the Bulkley River.
Tetwep: Owl.
 [601] *Tet*: 1—Daughter, is direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for girls mentioned to the speaker.
 2—Daughter's wife.
Tetwast: 1—One of the names of Mount Heceta as chief.
 2—Man who descended to Mount Heceta in the beginning of time.
Tetwast: Supernatural name of bald eagle.
Tetwast: 1—Type of cupressoid house brought down from above by several of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
 2—One of the names of the supreme god's house.
 [825] *Tetwast*: White dog with black and red face.
 [824] *Tetwast*: Plume walk.
 [411] *Tet*: Cedar bark.
 [825] *Tet*: Sealing spear.
Tet: Snake.
 [825] *Tetwast*: Mountain near the Dean River.
Tetwast: One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean River in the beginning of time.
 [824] *Tetwast*: Red cedar tree.
Tetwast: Locality on mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island, probably Knight Inlet.
Tetwast: Unidentified grape-like tuber.
 [342] *Tetwast*: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Tet: Underground house with entrance and floor combined.
Tet: Bella Coola settler living in the last century.
 [825] *Tetwast*: One of the first men to settle at *Algalad* in the beginning of time.
Tetwast: Large clam-shell.
Tetwast: Sashed name of a Jax of man.
Tetwast: Lad mentioned in an ancient story.
Tetwast: Fisher.
 [601] *Tetwast*: "The Sleep Giver": Name of a female shaman.
tet gus di ems: Nephew's wife, term of indirect address.
tet gus di sisi: Uncle's wife, term of indirect address.
Tetwast: Man mentioned in an ancient story of the upper Bella Coola valley.
Tetwast: Celebrated Kitkatla chief living in the last century.
Tetwast: "He of the Penis": Nickname given to a lad mentioned in an ancient story.
tetwast: Valley.
Tetwast: "Where the River Covers the Stones": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Tetwast: Locality on Fitzhugh Sound.
 [824] *Tetwast*: Mountain in the Carrier country.
tetwast: Unidentified hollow-stemmed plant.
Tetwast: "Where There Is Much *tetwast*": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

APPENDIX D

433 192*

Point: River on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.

Proposed: Mountains near Dean Channel.

From: One of Raven's female Cree relatives.

Home: To marry.

Adoption: 1—Marriage in which the woman's relatives make the first proposal, especially one having owing to harassment or other financial stress.
2—Marriage without lengthy engagement.

Order: One having a voice like an eagle's.

Superstition: "A Hiding": The arrangement by which a man's wife-in-law gives him as "wife" an infant female relative in payment for his expenses in connection with the wedding of his own daughter.

Home: Chorus.

Islands: Bales.

Islands: Game played with hoop and arrows.

Islands: Arrows.

Islands: Arrows.

Islands: Some road without handle for driving fish out water.

Islands: Black bear.

Islands: 1—One of the a'alt dances.

2—Ceremonial held to shame a deserting husband or wife.

3—Name taken by an early *Islands* dancer at Kinquait.

Islands: Small.

Islands: Bella Bella woman married by *Islands* of Kinquait in the beginning of time.

Islands: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Islands* in the beginning of time.

2—Name acquired by one of the first men to settle at *Islands* in the beginning of time.

3—Ancestral name of a Kinquait man.

Islands: Woman dwelling on the coast south of Bella Bella in the beginning of time.

Islands: Knife of mountain goat bone.

Islands: Red rock end. The difference between this and *Islands* is problematical.

Islands: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.

Islands: 1—Supernatural woman known to the people of Smith Inlet.

2—One of the first women to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.

Islands: Servant to the supernatural being *Nachlakab*.

Islands: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.

Islands: Supernatural woman resident in the land above. This word is said to be unrelated to *Islands*, although a common origin seems probable.

Islands: 1—Supernatural child resident in the land above.

2—Name acquired by a female child in the beginning of time.

Islands: Fir-bark.

Islands: Correct term, in the language of Raven, for skull-cap worn by adolescent girls. See *Islands*.

Islands: The pouring, by a shaman, of grease from ten vessels on the fire as a means of curing the sick.

Islands: One of the first women to settle in the Dean valley in the beginning of time.

[514]

[515]
824
825
411
412
825
516
825

[412]
825

[824]